2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

836 Marriage.—There is much premarital license for girls, who are abducted into the men's club. Apart from moiety exogamy and preferential clan unions, the kinship nomenclature suggests marriage with the father's eldest sister's daughter and with the father's younger sister. The actual occurrence of such arrangements, however, is as yet undemonstrated. On the other hand, sororal bigamy and the simultaneous marriage with a woman and her daughter by a previous husband are observed facts. Residence is matrilocal.

763 Death observances.—A dying person (das Garças group) is smeared with urucú amid feminine lamentations. The corpse is covered and must no longer be seen by the women and children. Kinsfolk gash themselves, so as to make the blood trickle on the bier. Indoors a long chant begins to the accompaniment of gourd rattles. The dead person is wrapped and tied in a mat with all his possessions, including his broken bow and arrows. At sunset the body is taken to the men's club, where the chiefs chant and shake their rattles all night. After a brief rest in the morning, the song is resumed and continues until sunset. Near the club the young men prepare a shallow provisional grave. The mourners again wail, gash themselves, tear out or cut their hair, and spatter blood on the burial. Until the close of the mourning period, male relations avoid urucú and kinswomen put on a special girdle.

764 Mortuary rites are combined with other ceremonies. On the eve of the burial the people organize a hunt in honor of the dead, the game being brought to the bereaved and communally eaten. A mourner gives to the valiant hunter of the opposite moiety the hairs he has plucked from his head and a gourd trumpet. Both the hair and the gourd represent the deceased person's soul (arce). For a fortnight chanting continues in the mourners' hut, then the flesh is removed from the corpse. Young men now impersonate the mythical hero Mariddo (pl. 87), who danced for hours with a heavy bundle on his head, their vain efforts to emulate this feat arousing general hilarity as the parcel falls to the ground. At this juncture bull-roarers are wielded, representing a large mythical beast. The hunter reappears in a disguise as the dead man's representative and the mourners lead him from the club. Women and children would die at sight of either him or the bull-roarer. On the other hand, this is precisely the time for initiating boys deemed old enough. Accordingly, several nude youths plastered with mud represent the mythical animal and, after caressing the hunter, frighten the novices with yells and pelt them with mud before allowing them to see the bull-roarers. Thus the funeral rites involve a boys' initiation.

765 After a night's chanting, the corpse is unwrapped, the bones spread out, washed in a stream, and then carried to the club, where the souls

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added room, and the woman, and thus the maternal family, remains the owner of this contiguous part of the building.

Karl von den Steinen observes in this respect (o.c., p. 501): "The young wife remains with the children in the parents' house. The young husband only spends the night in this house and during the day lives in the men's house, if he is not hunting. The young couple has a fire for themselves, the grandmother sits a little apart with the grandchildren. It continues thus until the grandparents' death. The grandmother nurses, when the young wife goes hunting with the husband or when she is looking for palm nuts in the forest: 'they always still have milk, when the daughters marry.'"

Other characteristics of the so-called maternal family are evident from the following indications of the same explorer /136/ (o.c., p. 502): "The women of the quarters (the girls in the men's house) received from their lovers arrows with long bamboo points. Each one handed over two, and the young woman took them, having squatted, with an indifferent expression. When I was present once, I counted 18 such love arrows for one girl. They are handed to the brother or to the mother's brother." The destiny of these arrows gives, then, an idea of the property relationships within the maternal family.

Also interesting in this respect is the custom according to which, an ounce having been killed, the skin is handed over "to the brother of the woman recently passed away or to the uncle of the man recently passed away" (von den Steinen, ibidem). It is supposed that this uncle is a brother of the mother.

Finally, one of the most important signs of the maternal family: "It was always as a natural protector of the woman that her brother presented himself to us" (von den Steinen, ibidem).

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301 for only the men to adorn themselves." -- I saw this
562 decoration on the woman and children as well as on the men.

/155/ Also, neither among the Bororo nor among other Indian tribes, is it "common" that only the men adorn themselves. Precisely Karl von den Steinen relates (o.c., pp. 476 and 502) that the young girls in the men's house are painted and decorated with the greatest care.
[237] And Colbacchini (o.c., p. 15) says: "Men and women decorate the head with plumes and feathers." -- It is true that these cases are examples of "individual adornment"
[836] and not of "social adornment." Among the majority of
[593] the Indian tribes we found one pair of lovers who reciprocally adorned each other, especially by means of paintings; one also notices that the parents adorn the children of both
[171] sexes. Among the Tapirapé, the equality in the "individual adornment" goes to the point that man and woman, for many couples, alternately wear the same bead necklaces on the neck.

But the adorning of the Indian woman is not, always and everywhere, limited to "individual adornment." In many tribes, the young girl, at the end of the first
[171] menstruation, is solemnly adorned. Among the Tapirapé, after menstruation the women renew the body painting
[613] typical of the female sex. Among the Bororo, the woman wear earrings which have value as clan badges. All this is "social adornment."

Considering the adornment of the Bororo as a unit, we confirm that the major part of the "social adornment" falls to the man, while both sexes dedicate themselves in equal proportions to "individual adornment." It seems, however, that the question as to when the /156/ adornment of those Indians serves to proclaim the adorned individual to the

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836 As far as I understood the matter, the tribe was divided into two large classes: that of the family huts and that of the
548 men's house. The former included the older heads of families who lived in regular marriage, the latter the bachelors who captured girls for themselves and possessed them jointly in smaller groups. The abduction of women that goes on from tribe to tribe was carried on here within the tribe. Only a part of the tribesmen were permanently in possession /501/ of women. It is certain that these strange conditions were not an incidental result of the colony. Clemente said that the situation was exactly the same in the villages, and, what is more convincing proof, the customs themselves show that it is a matter of established institutions. Except for the Brazilian leader Duarte with
595 his two women, apparently only Moguyokuri lived in polygamy in Thereza Christina, and it was interesting enough in what fashion. His wives were an older woman and her daughter by her first marriage; he married a widow who had a daughter, and since the mother was ugly and the daughter pretty, he also "married" the daughter. In the villages, however, polygamy is more extensively the rule among the older people. Only as
[162] a result of the demands of the Brazilians, an exceptional situation to a certain extent seemed to prevail in the colony, for there was a scarcity of women both for the huts as well as for the men's house.

[583] Of the Bororó on the Jaurú Waehneldt reports: "At their marriages they have no other ceremony than to take as many women as they can support or, stated more correctly, as appear there (from the outside); almost all husbands had many wives, up to six, whereas in the village of the Bororó near S. Mathias there was such a scarcity of them that girls eight and ten years
344 old were obliged to serve as such." There was no men's house
562 there, but merely an enclosure four and a half meters in diameter, in which the padres performed the consecration and which women and children were not permitted to enter, the "sanctuary."

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584 Consent of the parents for the marriage is not demanded. Nor do the parents give or receive anything. If they oppose it, a conflict breaks out and force is decisive. The loser leaves the village. Everything rests on the right of the stronger.

591 The young wife remains with her children in the house of her parents. The young husband merely spends the night there in the house, and during the day, if he is not hunting, he lives
603 in the men's house. The young married people have a fire for themselves, the grandmother sits somewhat to one side with the grandchildren. It is this way until the death of the grandparents.
[853] The grandmother nurses if the young woman goes hunting with
[147] her husband or goes after palm nuts in the forest; "they always still have milk when their children marry."

583 Young men see to it that they find a wife in good time, and here there are two customs with respect to dress which are
[304] of the greatest interest. The ear lobes of the girl are pierced by her future husband;* if he does not marry her himself, she is

* Those of the boy by his father.

married by his son.

Moreover, whoever puts the cuff on a boy becomes "related by marriage" to him and will marry his sister or his aunt.

• 836 /502/ Now the customs of the men's house. The Brazilians
548 maintained that there were instances when 30 to 40 men in succession had taken the same woman, whose arms and legs were held down. Sometimes the girls were openly fetched during the day and, as described, painted and adorned amid much playful jesting; sometimes they were caught late at night. Thus, one night we saw how the bachelors lying in front of the ranchão made an attack on a group of women coming home from a mourning gathering; two were captured in a soundless struggle, wrapped in blankets so that they were not recognizable, and dragged into the men's house. One of the two, however, as we saw the next morning, was experienced Maria, whose resistance could not have been meant very seriously. "You did not want to get married yesterday?" I asked. "Now I am already married," she replied

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836 548 contentedly. She lay beside her preferred man, entirely at ease under the red coverlet, and both were cracking palm nuts. One day we saw Moguyokuri goading the young men to adorn Maria, who was so wild in the wrestling bout and now so humble. Six of them immediately pounced on her and painted her.

The ranchão women were given arrows with long bamboo points by their lovers. Each one presented two, which the girl accepted, squatting, with an indifferent expression. Once when I was present, I counted 18 such love arrows for one girl. They [602] are delivered to the brother or to the brother of the mother. [851] The ranchão girls no longer marry an individual; if there are children, all the men of the ranchão with whom she has had intercourse are regarded as the fathers. These are entirely regulated [561] [439] conditions which result from the superior power of the older ones; they possess and receive from the girls who are handed over to the men's house, and on whose account they may reach an agreement, a regular income of arrows or ornaments, such as, for example, the suspender strings, which are also considered 838 payment. Pederasty is said to be not unknown in the men's house, but to occur only if the shortage of ranchão girls is unusually great.

224 We have already seen how well regulated property conditions are by the circumstance that the hunting booty does not remain 768 in the hands of the one who captured it. It is a great loss for the family when a member dies. For everything that was used by the deceased is burned, thrown into the river, or packed into the bone-basket, so that he will under no circumstance have occasion to come back. The hut is then completely cleared out. [431] The survivors, however, are presented with new things; bows [825] and arrows are made for them, and custom has it that when a [602] jaguar is killed the skin is given "to the brother of the woman who has most recently died or to the uncle of the man who has 593 most recently died." The brother of a woman was always pointed out to us as her chosen protector. Arrows are the most 436 important object of value; they are given to the brother /503/ of the ranchão girl or to the jaguar killer; they are the equivalent of tobacco and cotton in barter.